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MLDER, HARKNESS & BINGHAM, Ind'plis. Selected Miscellany.

#### The Duty of the Federal Government in its relations to the Civil War and the objects for which it

should be prosecuted. SPEECH OF

## HON. DANIEL W. VOORHEES

-IN THE-House of Representatives,

FEBRUARY 20TH.

Mr. Chairman, the first duty, perhaps, of one who attempts to address a deliberative body, is a permanent peace and union in this Republic so leng as that institution exists within it; and whereas slaves are clear and candid definition of his own position on the subject under discussion. I am ing and protracting the war; and whereas by the law of willing and ready to meet that requirement on this nations it is right to liberate the slaves of an enemy to willing and ready to meet that requirement on this occasion. I propose to discuss the duty of the weaken his power; therefore, "Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Repre-Federal Government in its relation to the unhap sentatives of the United States of America in Con py war which now afflicts the nation, and the ob- gress assembled, That the President be requested to deects for which alone that war should be prosecuted. And standing here a loyal and faithful citizen, recognizing to the fullest extent the bond | Bon. of my allegiance, I declare my purpose to sustain the Government with all my energies in all its States pledge the faith of the Union to make full and fair compensation to all loyal citizens who are and shall reconstitutional efforts to maintain unbroken the main active in supporting the Union for all the loss they union of these States as our fathers made it; that may sustain by virtue of this act." I will sustain it with all my energies in so con- Not an hour was lost, sir, in the inauguration, ducting this war that it shall "not be waged in on this floor, of the schemes of universal aboli the spirit of conquest of subjugation, nor for the tionism and their prolonged discussion. The purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the country witnessed this evil omen with amazement rights or institutions of the States; but to defeat and alarm. The idea that Congress cherished the

and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, or abolish slavery in the Southern States had nevequality, and rights of the several States unim- er entered the minds of the people. That the pairied;" but that I shall oppose unalterably, in war in which we are engaged was to be prosecuall constitutional methods, and to the utmost of ted for such a purpose they had no right to bemy ability, the prosecution of this war for the lieve, if there is any faith to be put in the pledges purpose of subjugating the Southern States, re- of the public men now in power. But in what ducing them to the condition of Territories, sub- light are these subjects placed before the country verting their institutions and laws, or liberating now? The distinguished leaders of the party their slaves. This position I conceive to be one which has control here on this floor, have, day af on which every lover of the Union, every disciple ter day, during this session, proclaimed the powof the Constitution, every friend of humanity, er and the purpose by congressional action to can stand. It is the rock of the Constitution; strike down the domestic institutions of the States, and he who places his foot upon it may defy the and I fear they are supported by a majority of storm which rages around him. Sir, a sympathy with the rebellious and seced- the Southern States are to be declared free by the ed States is now a favorite charge to bring proclamation of the President or by act of Conagainst men in public life; and to relieve themnelves of such an odium the brief hour which is posed in this connection which I will allude to

allotted to members on this floor is usually occu- before I close. pied in fierce denunciations and labored invective against the crime and folly of secession. I most conclusive manner that this pernicions shall follow no such example. Hard words or movement is an act of intolerable bad faith on brave threats neither weaken our enemies nor the part of the party in power towards Union men strengthen us. This war will not be brought to a close by strong expressions of hate, nor is such shall prove before I sit down, that, if universal a course consistent with a high order of states | emancipation is now to be the policy of the Govmanship. If Mr. Seward could instruct our ernment in its prosecution of this war, a foul de-Minister at the Court of St. James to "indulge ception has been practiced on the loyal people of in no expressions of harshness or disrespect, or the nation, and our army has been obtained and even impatience, concerning the seceding States, mustered into the field by false pretenses more their agents, or their people," I will certainly be gross than were ever before perpetrated to obtain pardoned for turning my attentien to the con- the means with which to carry out secret and unsideration of our own duties, and the questions hallowed purposes. By what magic cry came within our own control, rather than consume my six hundred thousand men into the tented field? time in an idle and harmless display of indigna- By what token and signal did they muster for the bellion. I shall proceed at once to that consider-

Other nations, Mr. Chairman, have undergone, as well as we, the heavy strokes of adversity. The visitations of God have fallen upon the what sign does he propose to conquer? Sir, these children of men in all ages. The trumpet of the are questions pregnant with the fate of the future. sixth angel, arousing the spirit of slaughter, has The people are asking them; the soldiers of our pealed an unbroken strain from the beginning of the world to the present hour. We are not alone evil machinations of abolitionists in and out of or singular in our afflictions, except in the mag- Congress. Their answer is at hand, and embranituce of the interests involved. In the value of ced within these we stand alone, without a parallel. We short and eventful months ago the authorities of hold in trust for posterity interests more vast, the Government called for an army more vast righ's more dear, and hopes more infinite and than Casar or Napoleon ever commanded on the stretching further into futurity than were ever field of battle. Such a movement had to be before given to the custody of a Government; sactioned by a cause equal in its importance. and our fall as a nation, if fall we must, wil be The cause, as asserted, was one to which no true from a loftier height of happiness than any peo- American could turn a deaf ear. The mainteple ever trod before, and into a depth of woe and nance of the Constitution, the restoration of the darkness as hopeless and despairing as that murky | Union, and the enforcement of the laws were proclime to which the bright son of the morning fell, claimed as the lofty purposes for which the tread in his eternal fall, never to hope again. When I of armed men shook the continent. To a people speak of our fall, however, as a nation, I do not proud of their Government, and supremely blest allude simply to the dismemberment of our terri-under its benignant workings, such an appeal was tory-the dissolution of the Union. This, it is irresistible. With it was mingled none of the true, is a disaster too fearful to contemplate, a heresis which are now the watchwords of a powvision, which I pray may never "sear mine eye- erful party on this floor. balls" with its awful fulfillment. The Union was Let us turn and look back briefly on some it established by the prayers, the tears, the groans, cidents of but recent occurrence, but which seem the blood of a generation which stands exalted in already to be fading from the recollections of all that ennobles the human race over all the other men. On the 4th day of March last, in the presgenerations of men which the earth has witness-ed. It comes down to us rich with the odor of and in the presence of his listening and wondering countrymen, ble sed memories. To preserve it in its purity, to | Constitution, the President of the United States restore it to its glory, to lift it up once more for held the following language: the civilized world to look at and admire, to be queath it unimpaired in its beneficent grandeur to our children, is a cause in which every sacrifice, its. 1) fieve I have no lawful right to do so, and I have save that of eternal truth, becomes cheap and no inclination to do so." easy. For that cause I desire, in my humble ca | This position was assumed at a time when pacity, to speak to-day. For that cause I can say, every word spoken by the new Executive was with the eye of Omniscience for my witness, no carefully weighed by an anxious country; and life between the two oceans that bound this con | when in a brief space afterward the nation was

and our posterity than ever a hostile line of divis- ple. They saw in it a solemn pledge, given in ion across the heart of the nation is, in my judg-ment, here threatened on this floor. The fall of stances the most imposing, that their energies this Republic can never be complete until the Con- were not to be called upon by this Administration stitution is overthrown. A portion of its territory to overthrow the laws and the guarantees of the may be torn away, treason may rob it of much of Constitution. But the President did not stop its treasure, the lightning may descend and scat- there. He went further on that occasion, an ter some of its beautiful branches, and seam and used language on the subject of the fugitive scar its stately trunk; but if the immortal princi- slave law, and our duties under it, which gave ples of the Constitution are left, the sup of life hope to the friends of law and order, but which I will rise again, and the leaves will come in the fear will scarcely be considered now as the utterspring. Destroy them, and the tree of liberty, ances of a loyal man by the zealous gentlemen like a girdled tree of the Western forests, will on the opposite side of the Chamber. He spoke histen to decay, and fall to the earth, to be re- on that subject, as follows:

WEEKLY STATE SENTINEL. moved as rubbish by the hand of some tyrant and usurper. Sir, what is it that constitutes the value of American citizenship? Is it vast possessions and extensive boundaries? What to me, what to you, is the possession of the four quarters of the globe, and all the islands of the sea, if we have not as our shield, our buckler, and our defense, the Constitution of our ELDER, HARKNESS & BINGHAM, fathers? Within its sacred folds are garnered up the great crown jewels of human freedom. First, and above all, at every hazard, and in the face of all consequences, permit not the citizen to be robbed of these jewels. They constitute his all; they render his person sacred; they make his roof protect him at home; they enable him when abroad to exclaim with more weight than the Roman of old, that he is an American citizen; they open his prison doors in time of trouble; they place him before his accusers; they give him a trial by his peers; they protect him in the enjoyment of the hard earned labor of his hands; they WEEKLY and two of the DARLY ..... 50 00 Additions can be made to Clubs at any time at the above tell him, in tones of angelic sweetness, to eat in ates. Where the paper is addressed to each subscriber peace the bread which he has earned in the sweat of his face. They are all, all, sir, that render American citizenship significant of liberty, significant of free-born, upright, glorious manhood throughout the world. For me, let me wear and enjoy them, though my possessions should be no broader than the narrow limits to which we all

hasten, and where the weary heart finds rest. But we are constantly reminded by those who propose to violate the Constitution, that we are the contrary that the restoration of the Union will be accomplished by and through the instrumentality of the Constitution, and a strict observance of its provisions or not at all. And now, sir, in this connection I propose to discuss in some of its most important bearings, one of by individuals or associations, or by churches, at the reg- the measures introduced into this House as the highest offering which, in the judgment of its friends, statesmanship can bring at this time to

the cause of our unhappy country. The members of this body, on the 2d day of Yearly a vertisers to pay quarterly.

The members of this body, on the 2d day of December, had but fairly become scated, and Announcing camerate of \$1 50 for each name in the the sound of the roll call had scarcely died away, until with hot haste the gentleman from Massa-Legal advertisement inserted at the expense of the at- | chusetts [Mr. Eliot] introduced the following res-

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatires of the United States of America in Congress as-sembled, 1. That in behalf of the people of these States, we do again solemnly declare that the war in which we are engaged against the insurgent bodies now in arms against the Government has for its object the suppression of such rebellion and the re-establishment of the rightful authority of the national Constitution and laws over the utire extent of our common country; 2. That while we Will be sent by mail or express to subscribers at any point | disclaim all power under the Constitution to interfere by ordinary legislation with the institutions of the several States, yet the war now existing must be conducted acrice, and that during its continuance the recognized auhority of the maxim that the safety of the State is the over civil relations; 3. That therefore we do hereby de-clare that, in our judgment, the President of the United States, as the Commander-in-Chief of our army, and the officers in command under him, have the right to emancipate all porsons held as slaves in any military district ment, and that we respectfully advise that such order of emancipation be issued whenever the same will avail to weaken the power of the rebels in arms, or to strengthen the military power of the loyal forces.'

> A few moments afterward the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. Stevens]-who I think may justly be considered as the leader of his party-not to be outdone, and to assert his right to be looked upon as the head of the Abolition church, not even respecting the claims of the gentleman from Illinois, [Mr. Lovejoy,] introduced the following as his plan for the restoration of the Gov-

"WHEREAS, Slavery has caused the present rebellion in the United States; and whereas there can be no solid and

clare free, and to direct all of our Generals and officers in command to order freedom to all slaves who shall leave their masters, or who shall aid in quelling this rebel-

"Sec. 2. And be it further resolved, That the United

and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, remotest design of attempting to interfere with the House. The four million of slaves held by gress. And other and further atrocities are pro-

I wish, first, sir, to show in the amplest and

tion against the wickedness of the southern re- fierce arena of civil conflict? By what strong appeal were they aroused from their slumbers of peace, and induced to exchange home and its happinessfor the dread alarums of war? In what name was the citizen transformed into the soldier? In records which will not perish. A few

tinent would be more willingly offered than convulsed by actual conflict, this definition of his constitutional power over the subject of slavery But a greater evil, a more fatal calamity to us was remembered and trusted by a patriotic peo-

"There is much controversy about the delivering up of fugitives from service or labor. The clause I now read is as plainly written in the Constitution as any other of its Rut. sir. I shall proceed with the testimony. provisions: 'No person held to service or labor in one State under the laws thereof escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered the roar of the conflict, save the Union, the Con-

up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.' It is scarcely quastionable that this provision was intended by those who made it for the reclaiming of what we call fugitive slaves; and the intention of strains as he left his home to join in "battle's the lawgiver is the law. All members of Congress swear their support to the whole Constitution, to this provision as much as any other. To the proposition, then, that slaves whose cases come within the terms of this clause every gale which swept from this Capitol. Even shall be delivered up their oaths are unanimous." How strange all this sounds here now, and in to the country that this war was to be conducted

what startling contrast with the principles daily | within the limits of the Constitution, and that the announced by the great leaders of that party | States of the South were to be protected in the which made Mr. Lincoln President! No power enjoyment of their domestic institution to touch the institution of slavery in the States, On the 9th day of May, from his headquarters and a faithful enforcement of the fugitive slave at Annapolis, in the slave State of Maryland, law! Eleven months ago such was the doctrine | General Benjamin F. Butler spoke as follows, in proclaimed on the eastern steps of this Capitol by | a letter to Governor Andrew, of Massachusetts, the President. Such the honest, confiding peo- on the subject of his duty in his military capacity ple believed it would continue to be when they towards the institution of slavery. I commend it threw aside the implements of peaceful industry, to the consideration of the gentleman from Masand resorted to the sword.

But these positions of the President are now lutions now under discussion: repudiated, because, as it is asserted, they were assumed under circumstances far different from | that the city of Annapolis and environs were in danger those which exist at present. The shortest answer to this feeble excuse for a flagrant violation swer to this feeble excuse for a flagrant violation | leed to put down a white mob, and to preserve and enof the Constitution exists in the following extract | force the laws against that. Ought I to allow a black one from the message of the President of July 4th to the extra session of Congress:

"Lest there be some uneasiness in the minds of candid men as to what is to be the course of the Government to-ward the Southern States after the rebellion shall have been suppressed, the Executive deems it proper to say it will be his purpose then, as ever, to be guided by the Constitution and the laws; and that he will probably have no different understanding of the powers and duties of the Federal Government relatively to the rights of the States and the people under the Constitution than that | weakness! By allowing, and of course arming, that popexpressed in the inaugural address,"

July. The rebellion which in March looked like fiance in sight of the Presidential mansion. Bated, treasures plundered, forts taken, the flag torn | as a part of the oppressing white race? and dishonored and the authority of the Government driven out of eleven States of the Union with insult and scorn. Yet, in the face of all lution, was the arming, by the British Ministry, of the red this, with the full proportions of this great rebellion in clear view, the President reasserted the women and the children of the colonies, so that the phrase policy of the inaugural; and in doing so, again announced that he neither had the power nor the nation to interfere with slavery in the States | who used it in Parliam where it exists, and that the fugititive slave law must be enforced and obeyed.

Sir, where then was the indignant thunder which has shook this Hall during the present ses- ages upon the homes and hearths of the South, can we be sion? In what cave were the winds then imprisoned? What enchantment chained the fiery zeal of the gentleman from Massachusetts, [Mr. Elliot?] What prudential considerations induced the veteran leader from Pennsylvania [Mr. Stevens] to nurse his wrath and keep it warm for a future day? Where was the able gentleman from Ohio, [Mr. Bingham,] who now champions the cause of abolitionism so warmly and so gallantly? And even the voice of the gentleman from Illinois, [Mr. Lovejoy,] who, like the war horse of the Scriptures, is eager for the battle, where the negro is involved, was silent. Ay, sir, they were silent then, and silent all. The day and the hour had not yet arrived to throw off the disguise which was assumed to hide the purposes which are now avowed. Soldiers were yet rushing to the field. The great army was not yet complete. The music of the Union yet resounded through the land, unmarred by the discordant cry of Abolitionism. There were no speeches then in favor of universal emancipation, servile insurrections, the destruction of State Governments and their reduction to the condition of territories. Far

Mr. Bingham. The gentleman will pardon me; I was not altogether silent during the special session upon that subject. Mr. Voorhees. Certainly not; but the gentle-

men will hardly assert that his voice was heard as it has been during the present session. Mr. Bingham. No, sir; but I did something better than speaking. I reported a bill which passed this House, and which, in my judgment, gives freedom to five hundred thousand slaves. Mr. Voorhees. But the gentleman did not then extend his proposition to the liberation of the whole four millions of slaves of the South. Yet he has proclaimed that to be the true policy of the Government during the present session on

Mr. Bingham. Of course not; but it did go, in my judgment, to the extent of five hundred

thousand slaves. Mr. Voorhees. Yes, sir; his proposition at the extra session, he thinks, would liberate only a majority of this House; but permit me to say, about five hundred thousand slaves; but in his speech on the fifteenth of January, of the pres ent session, he asserts it to be the duty of the Government to declare free the whole four mil. present day. lions of slaves held in the South. But, sir, to

crossed the Ohio river with ten thousand sons of lows: the Great West, and planted his banner on the soil of a slave State. Was his mission to "proclaim liberty throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof," according to the stereotyped ral commanding held the following language on destroy constitutional rights.

such interference, but we will, on the contrary, with an The curtain was withdrawn, and the bloody iron hand, crush any attempt at insurrection on their

young Western General rang through the country. ts terms suited the law-abiding people of the mighty Northwest. It filled them with bright anticinations of his future, which I hope may all be fulfilled. They took this proclamation as a pledge, sanctioned, too, by the Executive, that the arms of the Government were to be used to maintain all the laws, State and Federal, throughout the nation. It was worth, sir, to the recruit ing service a hundred thousand men in the valley

I know not how it was received away up towards the North star, in the cold latitude of New England, where the abolition of slavery is an object of far dearer and higher import than the reconstruction of the Union on the basis of the of the Emperor Napoleon, and treating of the Constitution. But at least no cry of horror arose from that virtuous region then, no explosive protest burst from Puritan lips. Their hour had not been reached, the fulness of time had not come. the ranks of the army were not full, and they waited-yes, sir, they waited! But is the pledge which was given to the true friends of the Constitution and the Union by the Commanding General of the armies of the United States on the banks of the Ohio, to be broken on the banks of the Potomac? He has since then drawn his sword in a new and higher field; he has stepped upon a theater with the world for his audience; he walks upon the dizzy heights of human greatness, so far as official station can bestow it; the field of fame lies open before him, in which to win a name that will never perish, to become one of the immortal few who cannot die; but no change of circumstances or of fortune can release him, in the minds of an honest and confiding people from the obligation he assumed when he opened his career by the invasion of Western Virginia. They call upon him now, as he prom-

But, sir, I shall proceed with the testimony. Congress and the people." Sir, this language needs no comment. It

magnificently stern array." The poisonous ma-Massachusetts furnished a high order of evidence

sachusetts [Mr. Ellot,] who introduced the resospoke as follows:

"You will indulge in no expressions of harshnesss or "On the morning following my kinding, I was informed from an insurrection of the slave population, in defiance of the laws of the State. What wis I to do? I had promany preference in a breach of the laws? I understood that I was armed against all infractions of the laws, whether by white or black, and upon, that walerstanding I acted, ical misunderstandings and alienations, still are and always must be our kindred and countrymen." rtainly with promptness and efficiency."

Again, in the same letter, and speaking on the same subject, the following sentiments occur: "I appreciate fully your Excellency's suggestion as to the inherent weakness of the rebels, arising from the preponderance of their servile population. The question, then, is: in what manner shall we take advantage of that ulation to rise upon the defenseless women and children Thus was the pledge which was made in the naugural address on the 4th of March, renewed the horrors of San Domingo a million times magnified

among those whom we hope to reunite with us as brethin explicit terms on the 4th of July. The firesof ren, many of whom are already so, and all who are worth civil war which were smoldering and hid in preserving will be when this horrible madeess shall have March were leaping up to the very heavens in passed away or be thrashed out of them! Would your Excellency advise the troops under my command to make war in person upon the defenseless women and children a distant speck, had spread until it darkened half the sky by midsummer. Its boundaries were as too horrible to be named? You will say, '6od forbid!' If large then as new, and its flag was floating in de | we may not do so in person, shall we arm others so to do. over whom we have no restraint, exercise no control; and who, when once they have tasted blood, may turn the tles had been fought, lives lost, property destroy- very arms we have put in their hands against ourselves,

"The reading of history, so familiar to your Excellency, will tell you the bitterest cause of complaint which our fathers had against Great Britain in the war of the revomay we not use all the means which God and nature hav arms in our hands, amid the savage wikiness of camp and field, we may have blunted many of the finer moral sensibilities in letting loose four millions of worse than savstified to the christian community of Massachusetts? Would such a course be consonant with the teachines of our holy religion? I have a very decided opinion upon the subject, and if any one desires, and I know your Excellency does not, this unhappy contest to be prosecuted in that manner, some instrument other than myself must e found to carry it on."

Thus spoke General Butler, under the eye and under the sanction of the President of the United States, on the 9th day of May, 1861. The Capital was then in danger. The cry that went forth then from here was a burning and constant appeal for armed men to surround and save the archives of the nation. The torn flag of Fort Sumter was held up before the indignant gaze of the country, and a patriotic people were called upon to restore it to its original luster, and cause it to wave once more over the Government which our fathers ordained. In the midst of all this came the grateful assurance which I have just read, that the laws of the Southern States were to be upheld, and that neither white mobs nor black mobs were to be allowed to violate them. How stands Massachusetts on that question to-day? Does she indorse her General of the 9th of May as he was ndorsed by the President? Will she consent that her troops shall be used to put down servile insurrections in the South, and to enforce the laws of slave States as they find them? Will her Re resentatives on this floor vote money to carry on this war in the manner pledged by General Butler on the 9th day of May? She silently acquiesced in his principles then, and waited for a more auspicious moment for the promulgation of her heresies. Boston sat quietly on her hills, and stifled her groans. She consoled herself with a fu ture hope, and perhaps enjoyed a vision of secret purposes deferred, but at last fulfilled. But, sir, he plain masses of the country, who enjoy none but an outside view of public affairs, looked upon this letter of General Butler, written with the silent approbation of the President, as another high promise, not made to be broken, on the subject of slavery in connection with the war in which we are so unhappily engaged. It may be broken now, it may be treated as idle and unmeaning by that when that is done, another and powerful reason will be furnished to posterity for regarding

with strong aversion the Abolition party of the But to proceed in the examination of the record. Sir, there is one name which will live long, if not I have thus shown the faith which the highest enviably, in connection with the history of this officer in the Government plighted with the peo- war. Many men have been brought before the ple on this subject. There I might rest, and call public and fame thrust upon them by the convulupon him in the name of the people to frown upon | sive events of the last few months; but the names the efforts which his political partisan triends are of none will remain fresh in the minds of the making here to cause that faith to be broken. But people longer, I imagine, than that of the late there are others of eminent position, and in whom | Secretary at War, who is now performing a the people have the highest hopes and interests | pilgrimage to the cold regions of Russia. The last confided, who gave public assurances in the early days of his administration of the War Departstages of this war of the manner in which it ment were signalized by his earnest efforts to arm should be conducted with regard to slavery, to the slave, and to promote the cause of universal which I desire to call the attention of the House abolitionism. But even he, in the early stage of this great struggle, when he was daily and hourly On the 26th day of May, at Cincinnati, Gen. appealing to the country for troops, left on record George B. McClellan, then a name comparative- the strong condemnation of the policy which he ly unknown, now filling the civilized world where afterwards adopted, and which is sought to be ever the story of our great calamity has penetra. fastened on the country by the action of this ted, issued his proclamation to the Union men of House. Mr. Cameron at that time took the pains Western Virginia. With it as his forerunner, he to tell his patriotic countrymen his views as fol

"This is a war for the Union, for the preservation of all

Who is here to deny that it is the constitutional war cry now on this floor? Did his soldiers, brave right of the southern man to hold slaves? Here and honest men, feel, according to the speech of | is the pledge of Mr. Cameron, then Secretary of the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. Ste- War, that that right should be protected. He vens,] that the cause in which they had shoulder- broke it, it is true, as far as it was in his power ed their muskets would not enable them to con- to do so; but the people at the time believed him. tend successfully with the rebel forces unless and flocked to the standard of the Union, never their march became a crusade for the freedom of the slave? No, sir, nothing of this. The Genecalled upon to strike down the Constitution and

One more witness I shall call from the Cabinet of the present Administration. The distinguished head of the Department of State, when the o induce you to believe that our advent among you will booming of the rebellious cannon had scarce died be signalized by interference with your slaves, under- away at Fort Sumter, spoke on this subject to the stand one thing clearly, not only will we abstain from all nations of Europe and to the civilized world. drama was open to his philosophic mind. He I remember well how this proclamation of the surveyed it calmly, and then fully and clearly wrote down the policy, which the Administration now in power would pursue; and in his official capacity pledged the unsulfied honor and un tarnished faith of the Republic, in the face of the world, for the truth of what he said. Sir, I challenge the attention of Congress and the country, now in this mad hour of desperate measures, to the principles deliberately laid down by the great leader of the great party of the North, when we were not only enlisting our own people in the awful struggle which is upon us, but when we were also seeking favor for our cause in the favorable public opinion of mankind. On the 22d day of April, 1861, Mr. Seward, writing to Mr. Dayton, our Minister at the Court

subject of the present rebellion, said: "I need not further elaborate the proposition that the olution is without a cause; it has not even a pretext. "It is just as clear that it is without an object. Moral and physical causes have determined inflexibly the character of each one of the Territories over which the dispute has arisen, and both parties after the election harmiously agreed on all the Federal laws required for heir organization. The Territories will remain in all respects the same, whether the revolution shall succeed or States will remain just the same whether it succeed or fail. There is not even a pretext for the complaint that the disaffected States are to be conquered by the United States if the revolution fail; for the rights of the States and the condition of every human being in them, will remain subject to exactly the same laws and forms fail. In the one case the States would be federally connected with the new confederacy; in the other, they would as now, be members of the United States; but their constitutions and laws, customs, habits and institutions

n either case will remain the same. Virginia. They call upon him now, as he promised them, to abstain from all interference with Constitution and laws. The case, bowever, would not

effort on his part would be unconstitutional; and all his sumter had fallen. The nation was arming actions in that direction would be prevented by the judicial authority, even though they were assented to by

of the Government that under no circumstances, will it interfere to change or abolish or modify that such a measure would be prevented by the judicial authority, even though the President and for its promotion. What say the profound lawyers on the opposite side to this barrier raised

wrote to Mr. Adams, the American Minister to involved in the act will be so dark, the fraud so England; and in his official instructions to him | monstrous, that it will pollute every succeeding

srespect, or even impatience, concerning the seceded standing their temporary self-delusion, they must always continue to be, equal and honored members of this Federal Union, and that their citizens, throughout all polit-

On this doctrine, sir, I take my stand. It embraces the deliberate conclusions of my mind and the sentiments of my heart. I believed in the principles laid down by the Secretary of State, on the 10th day of April, when they were written, and I believe in them now. If others have changed since then, I have not. The Union which I seek to have restored is the old Union, as it was made by our ancestors; not a new and different one, shaped and fashioned to suit the capricious notions of modern politicians. I long to see the States once more reunited as "equal and honored members of this Federal Union," with the Constitution unchanged in letter or in spirit, extending its protection and its blessings alike to them all. I have no wish, however, for the kind of a Union which now seems to meet the approbation of many of the distinguished leaders of the dominant party. Rome had her subjugated provinces, reduced to squalid wretchedness by her vast standing armies. Her trembling tributaries wailed and bled beneath her cruel power. Her consuls went forth to govern, to rob, to plunder, to scourge, and to crucify. She reduced independent sovereign States to territorial vassalage. She received their enforced hom age as a conqueror. She confiscated their ds and their substance. She filled her lan with extorted wealth. But does the sad sequel to her history commend her policy to us for adoption? Standing armies preyed upon her vitals and smote down her liberties. Unwilling, unequal, and dishonored States arose against her when ever the opportunity offered. The Gaul, the Briton, the Tartar, the Hun, the Goth, the Vandal, all.

"Dealt upon the seven-hilled city's pride," rifled her of her glory, and repaid her a thousand life is perhaps bounded by narrow limits, but I fold for the bitter humiliations which her arro- trust that I may live till the sun rises on the day gance had inflicted. All history repeats the same of a popular reckoning on this subject. I fear

with revolution following revolution in quick and | through their Representatives. contain volumes of teaching on this momentous heed their warnings. Give us back the Union as it always heretofore has been, consisting of "equal in the Union." and honored members." Fail to do this; strip the States of their attributes as States under the Constitution, and reduce them to territorial bondage, a measure already introduced into the other branch of Congress, and though our armies may be victorious in every fieldthough they may, in their triumphant march, cross every river, scale every mountain, and encamp in every valley, from the Potothe angel of peace will return to the land-there the roll call of vast standing armies shall cease to be heard; and there will never come a day when the footfall of the Federal tax-gatherer shall cease to be heard at the threshold of every laborer's fitful gleams along our horizon. The people of the South are "our kindred and countrymen," and the blood which we inherit in common, the proud race to which we belong, never yielded a the sword must now bring the conclusion of this

must be attained now on the battle-field. There was a time when it was not so, and history will unchecked, unlimited, and uncontrolled by law, embalm in everlasting infamy the names of those who rejected peace-who rejected union when is the bloody, dripping sword of irresponsible both were offered on honorable terms. I leave the past, however, at least for to-day, and deal with the present. Let the armies move on, and ed in heaven, impose upon us to support the Conbring a speedy issue to this war of "kindred and stitution in all its parts as our sainted fathers countrymen;" but let them move in the name made it. of the Constitution; in the name of the laws; in the name of the Union, composed of "equal and knowledge, and none other. In peace or in war, honored members;" in the name of God; and guided by the precepts of an enlightened Christi-

and kindred and similarity of domestic institu- his countrymen. tions and interests pulled hard against the strong anchor of her fidenty to the Union, and when she poised herself upon her proud neutrality between the North and the South, one of her most eloquent and gifted sons spoke to her on behalf of Executive promise, and on the faith of which thousands of her troops are now in the field. On the 31st day of May, 1861, Joseph Holt

wrote his celebrated letter to Mr. Speed, which rang through the country like a clarion. In it "No excesses will mark the footsteps of the troops of

or tampered with; no rights of persons or property will be violated. The known purposes of the Administration, and the high character of the troops employed, alike guaranty the truthfulness of this statement." Not content, however, with this most explicit and most satisfactory assurance that the rights of the States were to be respected, Mr. Holt proceeded to convince Kentucky that her rights in the Territories were also amply secured, and would be carefully guarded by this Administra-

"The Supreme Court has decided that the citizens of the slave States can, at will, take their slaves into all the case, is the law of the land, and the whole power of the session, organized three new Territories, and in the organic law of neither was there introduced, or attempted to be introduced, the slightest restriction upon the right of the Southern emigrant to bring his slaves with him. At this moment, therefore, and I state it without qualifi cation, there is not a Territory belonging to the United

tion. He discussed that point as follows:

be fully presented if I were to omit to say that any such war and its treatment of the question of slavery. Soldiers were wanted. Kentucky was to be saved, and language like this was more potent with the lovers of the Constitution and the friends speaks plainly for itself. It is the solemn pledge of the old Union than all the bounty land or monthly pay which the Government had with which to enlist recruits. There it stands, and any of the laws or institutions of the States there it will stand forever, to the honor of him which are in rebellion. Will that pledge be kept? who wrote it, and to the eternal shame and dis-What say the leaders of the movement for uni- grace of those who shall turn their backs upon versal emancipation to this? Mr. Seward says its teachings and render false and deceptive its deliberate and solemn promises.

I do not assume to speak for the affairs of Kep-Congress and the people should all act together tucky; she does not need my humble voice on this floor. Her own experienced and eloquent Representatives are here to speak for her. But in an unexpected quarter against the fulfillment | this I may be allowed, as her neighbor and friend of their fond hopes? I leave them to dispose of and lineal offspring, to av, that if the pledge it by some slight of hand more familiar to them | that has been given to her on the subject of her domestic institutions is now to be broken, and Under date of April 10, 1861, Mr. Seward | the abolition of slavery declared, the treachery page of American history and crimson the cheeks of our children with shame as they read it.

Sir, one more name I will add. It belongs States, their agents, or their people; but you will, on the contrary, all the while remember that those States are now, as they always heretofore have been, and, notwithfanaticism which reigns in this hall, and by and in its authority denounce the wicked purposes of abolitionism. I read from the last speech of the great popular tribune, Stephen A. Douglas:

"We must not invade constitutional rights. The inne cent must not suffer, nor women and children be the vic-tims. Savages must not be let loose."

How pregnant and full of meaning are these three short sentences. The Constitution must be maintained at all hazards, and the rights of the South under it must not be invaded. "Savages must not be let loose." This was spoken in June. The fell measure of the rebellion was before him, yet almost with his dying words be spoke for the preservation of the constitutional rights of the States; and as if with prophetic eye foreseeing the evil designs which were then cheirished in secret, he lifted up his voice in behalf of the innocentthe women and the children of the South-and warned his countrymen against abolitionism in that short but powerful sentence "Savages must not be let loose." Sir, there was a magnetic nower in his voice while living; and though he sleeps now from the warfare of life, and shall awake no more, yet from the dread precincts of the grave is still ringing over all the land, in the tones of a monarch among men, his lofty and solemn injunctions that the Constitution, as it was then, must so remain for the North, for the South, and for all future time. This injunction may now be despised and discarded in this Hall by those who so recently for the first time have ta ken his name upon their lips to praise. They may reject and spurn it, as they do, and they will; but when that is done, the cries of a deceived, an indignant and an outraged people will arise from the plians of the Northwest, and from all sections of the country, like the mighty sound of rushing waters, calling for vengeance on those who have fatally stabbed the Constitution under the smiling and hypocritical guise of a false and assumed friend-

ship. I may not live long, Mr. Chairman. My not its judgment. I invoke with confidence its England, in modern times, has contributed her decrees on the humble record of my brief term example to this great lesson of history. Her of public life. Others, and not I-not those who whole existence has been one protracted strug. take the Constitution as the measure of their augle to hold within her grasp conquered and vas-sal colonies. Her success has, indeed, thus far calling on the mountains to hide them from the been great, but her experiment is not over. She | wrath of their constituents. To that day I take has formed many unions with weaker Powers | my appeal; before that tribunal I lodge my cause. whose soil she has laid waste, and whose people But, sir, once more, and finally, to the re she has murdered; but what sorrowful spectacles | corded pledges of the Government. I have giv they are! She has a union with Ireland, but en you the pledges of those in authority in whom who wants to behold one like it on this continent, the people were entitled to confide. I will give filled with blood, with bitterness, with tears of you now the voice of the people themselves, as grief, with cries of hate, with charging armies, assembled here in both branches of Congress,

horrid succession, and with all those repulsive On the 11th day of February, 1861, in view of crimes which forever attend such events, and the gathering storm which has since broken upon over which humanity has shuddered and wept in the country, Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, then a Repall ages? No, sir; let us labor for no such Union resentative, now a Senator, in Congress, introduas this. All history, all ages, and every clime | ced into this body the following resolution: "That neither the Congress of the United States nor

subject. It becomes the American statesman to heed their warnings. Give us back the Union as States have the constitutional right to legislate upon, or interfere with slavery in any of the slaveholding States

The resolution passed this House unanimously upon a vote taken by yeas and navs, many of the present champions of Abolitionism being present and voting for it. Of course, this will be met by them now with the new doctrine, that a state of war enables us to legislate on forbidden subjects, and changes the express, written letter of the Constitution; that we were at peace when this resolution was passed, and that we are at war mac to Mobile, there will never come a day when now. We have heard much of this doctrine. It will never come a day when the drum-beat and my mind, it is the most dangerous dogma ever has been ably and vehemently urged. But, to promulgated in a free country. It puts us out far from shore in the open sea, with the polar star obscured, without chart or compass to guide our course. "State necessity" is to be substituted

hamlet from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. for the well-known provisions of the Constitu-There will be no peace in such a Union. The tion Strange and alarming doctrine in the lightning of civil war will be forever playing in American Congress! It calls up before the mind the bloodiest and darkest pages in history. It is the plea by which martyrs have been chained to the stake, and have ascended the scaffold in all ages. It erected the guillotine and held a carassive obedience to the degrading conditions of nival of horror in France during the reign of nequality and dishonor. I am fully aware that terror. It is the founder of bastiles and inquisitions. It is of no kin to freedom. It is a foe unnatural strife. I am fully aware that a result to liberty. It is the mostrous engine of oppression by which the accidental majority of to-day, may crush, plunder, and murder the minority. It power. State necessity! I know no "State necessity" equal to that which our oaths, register-

Such is the "State necessity," sir, which I acthe written Constitution gives us all the power we have, and, on this point, I content myself with referring, as authority, to the speech made I am not done yet, however, Mr. Chairman, at the late extra session by the distinguished genwith the recorded pledges of the Government. [tleman from Kentucky, [Mr. Crittenden.] We They exist on every leaf and page of the history all remember it. It has never been answered. It of the first three months of this war. They are never will be. According to his construction of strewed on every hand during that period, and the Constitution, there was a total absence of all leave the laborer in that field only the difficulty | power in Congress over the subject of slavery in of selection, not that of discovery. Sir, when the States, in war as well as in peace. I will that dear and honored State, Kentucky, where my | balance the weight of his honored name against ancestors were born, where they fought, where the advocates of a different construction. It is a was their abhorrence, and they prognosticated they died and where their ashes repose, was name that belongs to history. It is the name of "evil and evil only, and that continually," from trembling in the balance; when their fate from a profound lawyer and an experienced statesman, its influence in public affairs. day to day was unknown; when the ties of blood and will live long and gratefully in the hearts of

Sir, Congress, nowever, spoke again on this important subject. Who will ever forget the scene who witnessed it? Who will forget the 22d day of last July in this Hall? It was the darkest day in all the calendar of American history. the present Administration in language which Dismay or gloom sat on every face. A routed Kentuckians trusted, which they received as an army was pouring into the city, and a triumphant enemy was at the gates of the capital. In that hour of extremity and peril, when a new army was to be raised and the old one encouraged and reinvigorated, Congress announced to the country and to the whole world, the policy which should govern the future conduct of the war. On motion of the distinguished gentleman from Kenthe Republic; no institutions of the States will be invaded tucky, [Mr. Crittenden,] Congress said: "That this war is not waged on their part in any spirit of oppression, nor for any purpose of conquest or subjection gation, nor purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but

to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constituequality, and rights of the several States unimpaired; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished, the war The nation heard this, and loval men, trusting and confiding, again poured with military tread

from the loyal States to the banks of the Potomac. They were repelled then by no outcry from Perritories of the United States; and this decision, which either end of the Capitol, that slavery, as the has never been resisted or interfered with in a single | cause of the war, must be abolished, and that the seceded States had committed political suicide, Government is pledged to enforce it. That it will be loyally enforced by the present Administration I enter-tain no doubt. A Republican Congress, at the late territories, and governed as such by Federal au-Mr. Chairman, I am amazed, utterly amazed when I contrast the present with the past on this

subject. All is changed, at least so far as Congress is concerned. Pledge upon pledge has been their slaves at pleasure, and enjoy their complete pro- made by every department of the Government in the opening stages of this conflict. The national It is no part of my purpose, at this time, to de-termine whether Mr. Holt construed the decision the most binding and obligatory manner, that the of the Supreme Court correctly or not. He is a domestic laws and customs of the seceded States very eminent and learned lawyer, and his opinion | were not to be violated, that slavery was not to is entitled to great respect. But I simply now be abolished, that "savages were not to be let make him my authority to show the principles loose." We heard no indiguant protests then and the policy to which he pledged the Administration against this policy. Tongues that are now loud tration before the country in its conduct of the in its denunciations were then mute. Voices

that are now high in wrath against it were then

An army, however, of six hundred thousand men now stands banded together under the stern control of military discipline. In that, I suppose, the object of conservative pledges is accomplished, and the time has arrived for the fulfillment of the purposes of this war, according to the views of Abolitionists. They demand now that all these pledges shall be broken. They demand that the faith of the Government shall be dishonored. They demand that the present Administration shall be disgraced in the eyes of all the world by abandoning its own deliberate construction of the Constitution-its own boldly and openly marked line of policy. They demand that the army shall be deceived; that the promises by which it was raised shall be proven false; that the soldier shall now fight and die in the prosecution of purposes which were concealed from him when he enlisted, and which he abhors. They demand that the people shall be betrayed, and their hard earned money taken to support this war, conducted on principles which they utterly repudiate. And, above all, they demand that the Constitution be ruthlessly violated; that the laws be stricken down and that the old Union, such as our fathers made it, shall never be restored. Had they avowed their purposes at the opening of this war, and appealed to the country to support the atrocious doctrines which they now avow; had they made their demands then, no proud army would now line a thousand miles of border; but, rather, as my colleague [Mr. Dunn] has well and truthfully said on this floor, our army would have been composed of a small and deluded band, such as followed John Brown to Harper's Ferry. Let these demands be granted now, and the appalling fact will stand confessed that a stupendous fraud has been practiced on the nation, and that the army of the United States has been obtained by FALSE PRE-TENSES. Let these demands be granted now, and no American Umon will ever more bless the eyes

of men. No more "Will bloom the thunder-blasted tree, Or the stricken eagle soar."

Mr. Chairman, I represent, in part, the people

of a great State. Indiana may point proudly to

her escutcheon. It is gemmed all over with

honor. She did not want this war. She was for compromise and peace, and is now, when they can be obtained, as they once could, with honor and upon the principles of the Constitution. But once cast into the conflict, though by no act of hers, she has wedded her name to victory on every battle field where her troops have drawn the sword. Go and ask her sixty thousand soldiers now in the field, encircled as they are with a halo of gallant achievements, whether these demands shall be granted, and listen to their anto restore a Union of "equal and honored members," that they have encountered the perils of war to restore the Constitution exactly as it came from the hands of Washington, and to enforce all the laws, to uphold all the institutions, to protect and defend all the rights of every person and State under that Constitution, and that if such is no longer the policy of the Government, they will turn their faces homeward, deceived and be trayed. Go and ask the tax-pavers and the voters of that noble State for what they toil and pour out their money. They will answer that they live on the tributaries of the great thoroughfare of their trade and commerce, the Mississippi river; that their fortunes are forever linked by nature and the great laws of geographical formation with the States which are washed by its descend ing waters; and that by virtue of and in strict accordance with the Constitution they intend to secure a free passage to the Gulf of Mexico; and that they will everywhere uphold the rights of others as well as their own; that they labor to maintain and preserve the laws, and not to trample them under foot, and that they seek a reconstruction of the Union on precisely the same basis on which it was made by the founders of the Government. They want no four millions of slaves set free. They have no money with which to purchase territories for vast schemes of colonization. They are opposed to gigantic standing armies with which to hold, from year to year, and through all time to come, degraded States in subjection. In this hour of triumph, the true friends of the Union everywhere demand that a policy for the reconstruction of the Government be proclaimed from here which shall insure for the future a Union of "equal and honored members." Let our "kindred and countrymen" of the South know that liberality and magnanimity animate our councils, and that the spirit of vengeance, intolerance, and spoliation has no place in our midst. In this day of victory let the heralds of the Government go before our armies, and proclaim peace and Union, on the basis of equality, on the basis of the Constitution, and on the basis of the laws. Let them announce that the pledges of the Government so freely given in the early part of this struggle will not be broken at the mad behests of Abolitionism; but that the condition of every human being in the South shall remain unchanged, whether the revolution

shall succeed or fail. Sir, to my mind it is an omen of evil that the spirit of Abolitionism, like a lurking fiend of mischief, a Mephistopheles of iniquity, should boldly stalk in here, and in such a crisis as this, assume to control American legislation. Its croaking raven-cry is a baleful sound to the cause of the Union. Its arrogant and defiant demands fill the future with gloom. It no longer comes in here the skulking and despised miscreant that it once was, but with the elevated mien and swaggering port of a conqueror, it strides forward over the mangled form of constitutional government. It no longer hides and cowers, and denies its name and its nature, and assumes false shapes. like Satan in the garden of Paradise, with which to beguile and deceive, as it did a few short years ago. The veiled prophet of Khorassan has revealed himself, and his hideous face is almost enough to affright union and concord from

Why comes this fell spirit here now accompanied by its train of horrors? It has no merit in the past to entitle it to control the present and shape the future. It cannot point to a good act that it has ever accomplished. The cause of Abolitionism is barren of beneficent results. No State, no territory has it ever dedicated to freedom, and no slave has it ever set free except in violation of law. It has never had the sanction of the great and good names which, like stars in the clear upper sky, adorn and illuminate our history. On the contrary, it has been the object of their incessant maledictions from the hour of its birth. Its presence in the Halls of Congress

Why comes it here now? It never was a friend to the Union, and it is not to-day. It never wanted a Union with slave States, or a fellowship with slaveholders, and does not now. It is at war with the Constitution; it is an enemy to the Government; it is the twin monster to the doctrine of Secession; and like the withered and bateful hags on the blasted heath of Scotland. the two together concocted the hell broth of the present civil war. Let the spirit of the Union, born of the Constitution, rise up between them, like a bright angel, and banish them both forever. Then will the nation renew its mighty youth, and go on again in its swift flight of prosperity and renown. Then will "kindred and countrymen" once more assemble under the same flag, and, obeying the command of the Prince of Peace, "love one another,"

Secretary Stanton's Order. The following order has been issued by the Secretary of War in reference to the publication

of army intelligence: Ordered, That from and after February 26th the President, by virtue of act of Congress, takes military possession of all telegraph lines in the United States.

Second-All telegraph communications in regard to military operations, not expressly authorized by the War Department, the General Commanding, or the Generals commanding armies in the field in the several departments, are abso lutely forbidden.

Third-All newspapers publishing military news, however obtained, and not authorized by official authority, will be excluded thereafter from receiving information by telegraph, or from transmitting their papers by railroad.

The following Indiana soldiers, wounded at Fort Donelson, arrived at Cincinnati on Wednesday, by the steamer Allen Collier:

ington, 52d. company F.

Charles Johnson, 52d regiment, company K; Capt. A. P. Butler, 52d, company D; J. W. Smith, 52d, company B; Henry Messar, 44th, company I; David Cox, 52d, company E; Charles Kuck-